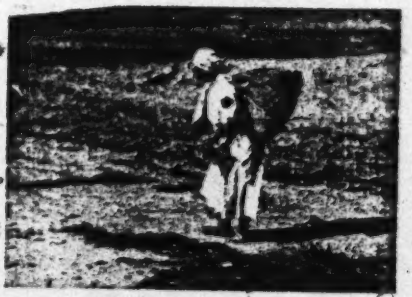
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

TRANSPORT 1

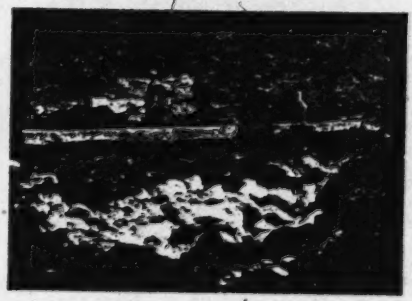
Common method of transporting water, Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel



Method of carrying burdens on the back, Beni Said

482
491

Boy bringing home brush, Beni Amart



Bridge made of two parallel logs, Suk et Tnine, Taghzuth

[facing p. 40]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

LAND TRANSPORT

482 Land transport in the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara is confined to the bearing of burdens by man and by domestic animals. Wheels and all types of vehicles are unknown. Human transport consists usually of the carrying of loads on the back. (See plate 7.) The negroid method of carrying on the head is not employed, nor is the tump-line used. Women carrying water from the spring or brook to the house use a two-handled jug, with a rope leading from each handle over the shoulders and held or tied in front. The same method is used for carrying bulky burdens such as loads of brush or of charcoal. Men generally carry things in their hands, or put them in the hoods of their garments.

492 Animal transport is confined to donkeys, mules, and camels. (See plate 8.) Horses do not carry burdens. For donkeys and mules, a special pack-saddle called the *hallas* is used. This is a large heavy object made of cloth and stuffed with straw, covering, in most cases, the entire back of the animal. The top is flat, and the edges of the upper surface are often raised. The *hallas* is held on by a rope or basketry strap passing under the animal's neck and by another under its tail. There is no girth; gravity, size, and the two straps are enough to keep it on when paniers are not used.

492 285 The paniers, called *shwari*, are of twilled basketry, a double container with a handle on each side and connected by a strip of basketry wide enough to cover the top of the pack-saddle so that the two containers will hang at the sides. The paniers are filled with whatever objects are to be transported, generally simply thrown in. Soft objects, such as blankets or sacks of grain, are set on top of the flat portion, and long ones, such as tools with handles, are lashed to the sides. A water jug of porous earthenware is often thrust into one of the paniers in such a position that it can be easily extracted. After the load has been placed, a cord is run between the handles of the *shwari*, drawn tight over the top, and carried under the animal's belly as a girth.

492 Camels have no packsaddles. A long, flapping type of *shwari* is sometimes used, without girth. This falls off whenever the camel becomes excited and breaks into a run. A more efficient method of packing these animals is by tying packages on either side of the hump, as can be seen in the illustrations in plate 8.

Horses, mules, and donkeys are ridden, horses either bareback or with an Arab saddle, imported from the Arab cities of Morocco. These saddles are expensive and difficult to obtain, hence bareback riding is the usual type. Riffians make notably poor riders, except for the tribesmen of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, who are accustomed to that means of locomotion. The bridle is generally imported and of Arab manufacture.

Mules and donkeys are ridden with the *hallas*, either bare or with the addition of a *shwari* and its load. Bridles are never used with donkeys and seldom with mules, a simple hackamore acting as substitute. Mule bridles, when used, are imported from Fes or other Arab centres.

Camels are almost never ridden by the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. They are used for transport and for milk, and attempts at riding them are sporadic and experimental.

481 In general, riding is an exceptional method of travelling, and the Riffian in most cases journeys on foot. Because of the ruggedness of the country, he can often make better time that way than if he were to ride. The Riffian can walk for long periods over the roughest ground without showing signs of fatigue, often bursting into trots for several miles at a time

1: Cook E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

sales, although it is difficult to stamp out private transactions.[1] Boy markets are found in the Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ghomara, and Ktama (also, of course, in the rest of the so-called Jebala, and centered at Sheshawen and in the tribe of Beni Zerwal).

[1] The whole Jebalan area is permeated with this type of sexual depravity, which is practiced without mutual shame or any attempt at concealment. In the Rif persons sometimes live and die without knowledge of its existence, and those who have travelled and seen it cannot mention it at home without falling into disfavor. It was punished during the recent war, in at least two known instances, by soaking the culprits in gasoline and burning them alive.

This perversion, the only form known in this region, is accompanied in the Jebala by a low esteem for women, who perform the more arduous tasks of agriculture which in the Rif are done by men. A frequent sight in the Jebala is a troop of women marching long distances loaded down under heavy bundles of charcoal and other burdens, which in the Rif would be carried by mules or donkeys.

Bride purchase, a trait common to all Moroccans but the Jews, is in the Jebala literally applied, since here the wife becomes a definite chattel of her husband, not usually the case elsewhere.

The atmosphere created by this combination of cultural factors is in striking contrast to that of the Rif, which, although primitive, is wholesome and vigorous.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

of Garet. In the Atlantic coastal zone most of the surface is cultivated, and little vegetation is left to serve as browse. In the eastern plains goats are replaced by sheep, which begin to outnumber them in the lower parts of the Rif. In the Middle Atlas the raising of sheep is associated with transhumance. This mode of pastoral life is still followed to some extent by the Ulad Stut, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ibdharsen, who spend the winter months near their cereal fields and the summer months in higher country with their sheep. The routes of migration run from the alluvial lowlands into nearby hills, especially the Kar-Kar range. In recent years the development of new irrigation projects has discouraged pastoral life, and the migration is now limited to a few of the young men and boys.

In the western provinces the main draft animals are cows or oxen. In the highlands and in the eastern lowlands the beasts of burden are donkeys and mules, which are used also for threshing and turning olive grinders. Mules are highly prized, for they can carry a heavier load than donkeys and are more agile and hardy than horses. Since there are few horses in the northern zone, most mules are imported from elsewhere in Morocco or from Spain. Moroccan donkeys are a small but hardy race, able to withstand long journeys with heavy loads. Horses have little value except as symbols of wealth and prestige, and are seldom used in the mountains. At the time of the Spanish conquest there were no horses at all in Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Seddath, and Aith Khannus.[11] Camels are restricted to the plains of Garet, where about 2,000 of them are used as milk, pack, and draft animals. Except for an occasional playful experiment, camels are not ridden.

The pack saddle for donkeys and mules is a heavy object made of cloth stuffed with straw. Panniers of twilled basketry, consisting of a double container connected by a strip of basketry, serve nearly all transport needs. Riders perch on top of the load and let their legs dangle to one side. There is little riding in the mountains, for a healthy man can make better time on foot.

Women are the most important burden bearers. Lines of women or girls bent under heavy loads are a common sight everywhere in Morocco. In Jbala they may be seen on any road carrying huge loads of wood and charcoal (pl. 8, *b*).

The domestic animals in northern Morocco include ferrets used in hunting, dogs, cats, and chickens. The dogs are of two types, one a small cur and the other a larger sheep dog. Chickens are the exclusive property of women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands. Bees are kept in the mountains, but the average tribesman knows nothing of apiculture, and prefers to assign the task to paid specialists.

Irrigation and Water Rights

In Moroccan agricultural terminology the most important distinction is that between *bilad bour*, the land of dry farming, and *bilad saqiyah*, the land of irrigation. By far the greatest amount of irrigated land is watered by diversion of surface runoff (pl. 5, *b*). Small dams (*mechra*) are used to divert water into ditches (*saqiyah*), which lead to the irrigable land. The ditches often follow tortuous contours, and may extend for several kilometers. The larger streams are flanked by several channels, sometimes five or six, each bringing water from a

[11] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 39, cited in note 5.

A, [See p. 132--Analyst] B, [See p. 129--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 . MX3 Rif MX3

seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus*, *Rhus pentaphylla*, and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[1] During any day of the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix*, *Alnus*, *Populus*, *Vitex*, and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander*, the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[2] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[3]

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most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al.*, *Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[1] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[2] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 69.

[3] Coon, *loc. cit.*, traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.